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to them after contact with European civilization. It is almost certain that before the coming of the white men, no reference to Easter Island existed in the native traditions of any other Polynesian island. 173

THE INDIVIDUAL IN SOCIETY

The small native community concentrated in the village of Hanga-roa presents today construction quite different from that which would have been observed before the collapse of the old culture. The intermixture of tribes has entirely changed the relationship of the individual to society and has abolished all ancient regulations and mutual obligations. Nowadays the only unity within the village is the biological family, whose importance has been maintained and perhaps increased since the introduction of the Catholic religion. 621

The present population of Hanga-roa village would be an interesting field for the study of changing culture and adaptation. Easter Islanders are the only Polynesians who have been subjected to the influence of a Spanish-speaking country. Contact with South American people has developed a type of society worthy of study and comparison with social conditions of Polynesians on other islands. 621 177

The culture pattern of Easter Island has been so greatly modified that very little information may be obtained as to the type of relationship observed in olden days. It is likely that after long contact with the natives certain tendencies which have been transmitted unaltered from pre-European times would be noticed, but these would be difficult to determine as they are not crystallized into specific institutions. They probably belong to the category of widespread attitudes observed by Polynesians in general. As most of my time on the island was spent in an attempt to reconstruct the past, I had little opportunity to study the new mode of life. So little is known of the past that it is impossible to determine whether the behavior followed by present natives is a survival of an ancient pattern or an adaptation due to changed conditions. 178

THE HOUSEHOLD

On Easter Island there are fifty houses for the present population of 456 natives, an average of nine persons for each house. The households include grandparents, parents and their children, brothers with their wives and children, and very often relatives or friends who are "visiting." The custom of living for an indefinite period in the home of a relative or friend is so common that it is a well-established institution. If a family is without resources, all or some of its members settle in the house of some other family. They are always welcomed and no one considers them parasites. "Visitors" usually choose a well-provided house. I found a few people who lived permanently in the homes of friends. Most of these were unmarried women with chil- 592 574

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dren, who were afraid to remain alone or were unable to take care of their plantations. Two women who were rather poor lived in the house of Victoria Rapahango, the richest woman of the island. They helped her with her housework as if they were her servants. (See also 79, pp. 14-15.)

Social conditions have changed so much that it is impossible to determine whether this system of permanent guests belonged to the old culture. Very likely it constitutes the only survival of the extended family (*ivi*) living in one big hut and possessing land in common. Formerly, "hospitality was practiced in behalf of friends (*repa-hoa*) who might have been of the same cove or from some other place. It was extended to foreigners but always with the purpose of getting from them more than they gave" (190, p. 464).

The crowding of people into a single small house was in part due to scarcity of wood and the expense of building a new home. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) observes that in former times the habit of crowding ten or twelve persons into a small shack or into a cave was detrimental to morals as well as to health. People of a common abode were certainly relatives, probably brothers and cousins. When Viriamo was young she lived at Anakena with the first wife of her husband, his family, and four brothers. A *hare-paenga* was translated as a house with stone foundations. *Paenga* standing alone was given as a large family (probably extended family). There is certainly a link between the two ideas.

PATERNAL AUTHORITY

Even today, in spite of many examples to the contrary, there is a general tendency to recognize and respect the authority of a father. He can object to the marriage of his son or daughter, either of whom would hesitate to oppose his will. Tepano ruled his family despotically and treated his sons like servants, though they were grown and married. Charli Teao had so much authority over his sons that one of them, in our presence, jumped into the surf on a stormy day to salvage a hat, endangering his life to obey his father. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 383) tells of rescuing a boy whose father intended to drown him for disobedience.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

The system of relationship terms of Easter Island is essentially the same as that used in the rest of Polynesia. It stresses the speaker's own generation level (0) and recognizes five or more generations (table 3). The terms which designate the generation strata are extended to the collaterals and include all members of the extended family.

Burrows' comparative researches have shown that the Easter Island relationship terms follow exactly the same pattern as those of central Polynesia (Tuamotu, Tahiti, Cook Islands) and Hawaii. However, with the ex-

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they presented to Captain Cook (83, vol. 1, p. 579), laying a few potatoes on top. The larcenies were committed so openly and so generally that they seem to have been considered perfectly natural, although by running away the natives showed that they felt they might be punished if they were caught in the act of pilfering. [181 577 674]

While anchored off Easter Island, Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 228) received some natives on board his ship:

> The crew were busy taking off their underwear when one of the savages proved himself to be a very clever thief. He sat, as if he did not notice it, upon a red necktie which he hid very adroitly in a little basket he had with him. When obliged to give back the tie he manifested neither anger nor surprise. He tried his trick again with the hope of being more successful next time.

Geiseler (87, p. 29) says that the natives "deem it a sign of cleverness" to plunder Europeans. "We observed during our stay at Vaihu that they attempted, in every way, to recover the eggs they had already sold to us and to sell them a second time. They would burst into laughter when we noticed the theft."

When Eyraud went to the island for the first time, he was robbed of his clothing and left almost naked. Once, as he worked in a well, he was threatened with death if he did not hand over immediately the trousers he had on. Ollivier (165, p. 254) writes in a letter to his superior that "the instinct of destruction together with that of stealing appear to me as the dominant features of their character."

The islanders of today have changed very little. In trade they perpetrate the most remarkable tricks to deceive the foreigners. After the visit of the *Baquedano* in 1934, one of them boasted that he had sold a bag full of stones as antiques. For years they have robbed the Williamson-Balfour Company of cattle and sheep; in 1934 they stole more than 3,000 sheep. Their raids are not justified by necessity; the Company sells them sheep at 20 cents a head, an amount they can easily afford to pay. The company store is constantly threatened by possible plundering. Despite the police organized by company managers, it is seldom that thieves are caught in the very act of stealing. [625] Although all know who the culprits are, no one would dare to tell their names. In Easter Island, as in Tahiti, it was probably considered smart to steal if the larceny remained undiscovered.

Thomson (215, p. 465) correctly says that the natives saw no moral delinquency in the practice of thieving. More doubtful is his statement, based [576] on information from Salmon, that "they had a god of thieving, and successful operations were believed to be accomplished under his patronage, and only detected when not sanctioned by that spirit."

The treatment of visitors differed not at all from the methods the natives would have used among themselves had such abuse been tolerated without [574] retaliation. Gonzalez (90, p. 98) remarks:

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SERVING OF FOOD

264 415 The food was served on mats or in baskets. Roggeveen (186, p. 16) tells us that the natives brought him "a boiled fowl to eat very neatly wrapped round in a kind of rush, clean and hot." G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 571) also speaks of matted baskets "full of sweet potatoes."

482 492 493 To carry food, and, in general any burden, the Easter Islanders had carrying poles (*amo*) which they balanced on one shoulder. This means of transportation has entirely disappeared and is remembered only by the old people. Today carts or packhorses are used.

FOOD ETIQUETTE

264 Nowadays no particular custom or rite is observed at meals. The women do the cooking assisted occasionally by the men when they have time or feel like helping. No native begins to eat before he has muttered a prayer or crossed himself. Formerly a food offering was made to Haua and Makemake before meals, pronouncing the formula "Ma Haua, ma Makemake."

[782]

574 Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, pp. 233-236) describes a banquet given for him by a powerful chief of Hotu-iti. The feast was the first sign of friendship shown toward the missionaries by the natives of that part of the island. Since other chiefs on the island had already honored the missionaries with feasts, this chief felt that to maintain his dignity he must give an especially fine one. Therefore he ordered his people to fish and to gather sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and fowls in abundance.

574 264 A big oven was dug out and kindled in the morning. When the missionaries arrived they were invited to sit on four stones around the oven and mats were stretched in front of them. The chief asked the missionaries if they were ready to eat, they said that they were, and at a given signal ten men rushed toward the oven and opened it. The best pieces of food were laid on small mats and deposited at the feet of the missionaries. After this, the chief and his friends were served.

"You should have seen," writes Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 237), "the dexterity with which they cleaned the carcass of the chicken from its meat and the avidity with which they devoured the meat with the small bones . . . " To quench their thirst they chewed sugar cane.

The common people stood waiting while the honored guests ate their meal. At a signal from one of the missionaries, they came forward and helped themselves to any food left in front of the guests and in the oven. The women and children were served last. From a delicacy like chicken or fish all they got was the bones to chew and "these bones were already chewed once or twice" (81, vol. 38, pp. 126-127).

The general gaiety of the meal was spoiled by the complaint of a visiting chief that he had not been served according to the rule of etiquette. He was supported by his retainers and the quarrel almost developed into a battle.

After the meal the guests rested in the shade and the day ended with "games and diversions."

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root is used for burns, and a species of nightshade is used as a vulnerary remedy." Sea water is drunk as a purgative. The introduced verbena (*puringa*) is used as a remedy against leprosy. Knoche (123, p. 195) mentions a decoction of ti as a remedy but he does not say for what it is used and modern natives know nothing about its medicinal use. They rely mostly on European remedies.

RECREATION

FEASTS

Modern Easter Islanders rely entirely on feasts to break the monotony of their lives. Formerly, frequent wars gave a thrill to existence, and when peace reigned festivities were continuous, according to Eyraud. Every lineage or village considered it a duty to entertain in turn the other villages or lineages. As soon as a feast was finished in one place a new one began at another point of the island.

The general name for feast, used in tales, is *koro* which applies also to the big house erected for festal occasions. Whatever the real meaning of *koro* might have been, the feasts were named according to their purpose, their nature, and the time of the year when they were celebrated. The main feasts which have been recorded by missionaries or mentioned in traditions are the *paina*, the *are-auti*, the *tangata-manu* (feast of the bird-man) at Orongo, and the ordinary *koro*, including feaste to honor a parent and those given at harvest time by rich landowners. "When the crops were ripe, every plantation, whatever its products were became the subject of a feast for a village or even for several villages. Everything depended on its extension and the importance of the owner" (190, p. 428).

At every feast there was a great display of food, especially of chickens. Food was piled on stages or conical towers. It is said that feasts were often disturbed by quarrels among warriors (*mata-toa*), who demanded large contributions of food and fought for shares (190, p. 498).

PAINA

The exact purpose and form of the *paina* feast is rather vague. Various visitors have collected widely differing accounts. But the *paina* apparently celebrated the memory of a dead parent, generally a father, and was an indirect part of the funeral duties of a son. The feast could be held soon after the death or several years later. It was always celebrated in the summer, and the right time for it was indicated by the position of the three central stars in Orion. The entire family of the deceased, especially the brothers and cousins, contributed to the expense of the ceremony. Over a period of years they raised chickens, planted extensively, and probably stored food to

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769 574 gather enough provisions to entertain a large crowd of guests. The guests also brought food for distribution in order to add to the abundance and gaiety of the feasting.

My informant Tepano was at first firm in his assertion that the *paina* was given for dead men only; later he said it could be held to honor a living father as well, and described the ceremony as similar to a *koro* feast. This last is the version collected by Routledge (194, p. 233) who was told that a *paina* might honor "a father, or possibly a brother who might be either alive or dead." However, Routledge probably confused *paina* and *koro* feasts.

769 574 778 The feast and the *paina* ceremony were held on the ahu where the honored dead relative was buried, and the ceremony was directed by an *ivi-atua* (priest). A huge image of a human figure made of rods and reeds and covered with tapa was erected on the landward side (front) of the ahu. *Paina* images have been variously described. The present natives remember them as follows:

> The framework rods were sufficiently strong to hold the weight of a man. On the perpendicular poles were fastened 11 or 12 rings of "reeds" (?), the diameter of each ring decreasing toward the upper part of the pole. Tapa cloth was sewn onto the conical framework and painted. The head was made separately, and consisted of a framework of wood and reed covered with tapa cloth. The mouth was left open so that the man who climbed into the figure could see and speak. The top of the head was surmounted by a circlet of frigate bird (*makohe*) feathers. The eyebrows were made of black feathers; the eyes were painted and the balls were represented by black shells (*pure uriuri*) surrounding a white disk cut from a human skull (*ivi puoko*). [According to Routledge's informants (194, p. 233) the eyes were open so that the man inside could see out.] The nose was a piece of tapa stuffed with reed. The body of the *paina* was stained yellow with turmeric dye. Perpendicular lines on the neck symbolized a man, but dots on the forehead and a black triangle on the cheeks (*retu*) indicated that the *paina* stood for a woman.

[531]

One of Gonzalez' officers (90, p. 95) writes:

> They have another effigy or idol, clothed and portable, which is about four yards (*varas*) in length: it is properly speaking, the figure of a Judas studded with straw or dried grass. It has arms and legs, and the head has coarsely figured eyes, nostrils, and mouth: it is adorned with a black fringe of hair made of rushes, which hangs halfway down the back. On certain days they carry this idol to the place where they gather together, and judging by the demonstration some of them made, we understood it to be the one dedicated to enjoyment, and they name it Copeca.

Sixteen years later, M. de Langle of the La Pérouse expedition saw another *paina* which he describes as follows (130, vol. 1, p. 81):

> We found near the last of them [ahu] a kind of layman or effigy of reeds, representing a man ten feet high, and covered with a white manufacture of the country; the head of a natural size, the body thin, the legs pretty exactly proportionate, and a net hanging to its neck in the shape of a basket covered with white cloths, and apparently containing grass. By the side of this sack was the figure of a child two feet long, with the arms crossed and the legs hanging down. This layman, which could not have stood there many years, was perhaps the model from which statues are now erecting to the chiefs of their country.

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The *paina* figures were not destroyed but were carefully preserved to be used in some future ceremony. The heads especially received great care. Stuffed tapa images, which may have been small *paina* or models of such images, are preserved in the Belfast and Peabody Museums (figs. 30-31).

Gonzalez (90, p. 95) gives *kopeka* as the name for the "clothed idols." The exact meaning of this word, generally combined with *ati* (*ati kopeka*), has been translated differently by various natives, but it always refers to a slain man and implies the idea of vengeance. Routledge (194, p. 233) says that the *paina* was put up "on a special spot, where for example, a man has been killed." Since the *paina* seems to have been a feast celebrated in honor of a dead parent, it is not impossible that special rites were observed or allusions made to his fate when he had been slain by an enemy.

Near all the large ahus there are circular depressions having an average diameter of 3 or 4 meters on which the *paina* image stood. These holes are particularly conspicuous on the Ahu-te-peu where there are five of them near the stone slope of the ahu. They are slightly excavated and paved with stones. No other ahu has so many *paina* holes. Perhaps it is because of this number that the natives told Routledge that no more than five *paina* might be celebrated in one season. "The *paina* was kept in place by four long ropes, one of which passed over the ahu" (194, p. 233). The chickens raised for the feast by the host and his family were placed at the feet of the image and distributed among the guests.

The details of the *paina* ceremony have been forgotten. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 66), who must have attended one, describes superficially what must have been a decadent or at least an exceptional performance:

> The *paina* are held in summer, and they attract all the population. Every participant takes his food for the time of the feast and especially for the last day which is the day of the banquet. All these rations, placed on the same line and covered with branches, formed the principal element of the feast. After having run for many days and after having performed all sorts of evolutions according to all the rules of the ceremonial, then comes the final clearing up. They swallow all the sweet potatoes and then put together in bundles all the branches which covered them, and they set up a sort of column or mast. That is the meaning of the word *paina*.

It is remembered that the son of the deceased, who was the host, climbed inside the image with a chicken in his hand. He passed his head through the mouth of the *paina* and delivered a long speech to the crowd thronged in front of the ahu. He spoke of the dead, exalting his virtues and praising his memory, and afterwards boasted about himself for having organized the feast. The relatives of the dead, on hearing the speaker's panegyric, started the funeral laments: *Aue tatu ue* . . . At a given moment or during all his speech, the host stretched his arm to show everybody the chicken or chickens he was holding.

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Koro

574 The feast for honoring a living father, mother, father-in-law, or mother-
431 in-law is called *koro*; it has survived until very recent times. I was told
554 that the *koro* is still celebrated but I believe that the traditional *koro* has been displaced by a more familiar feast, also called *koro*. The *paina* and *koro* are very similar; some sources maintain that they are identical, differing only in the fact that the first was intended for a dead parent and the second for a living parent. But, since modern informants may have attributed to the *paina* some of the features of the more familiar *koro*, reservations must be made.

My principal informant, Juan Tepano, believed that the last *koro* was celebrated about 1886. But Victoria Rapahango, 36 years old, described to me the *koro* of her brother, at which she assisted when she was a young girl. The word *koro* means "feast" and I suppose that Tepano had in mind the old pageant festivities when he spoke about the disappearance of the *koro*. But *koro* also means "father" and is employed as a reverential term when speaking to an older man (*e koro e*).

574 A man celebrating a *koro* for his father presented himself on a fixed day
431 before his relatives and friends with 200 or 300 fowls tied in groups of 10
602 to a long rope. He handed a fowl to his father. The father received it and
554 picked out other fowls which he gave to each of his brothers, sisters, or cousins, both male and female. Sometimes the father presented fowls to some of his good friends. After this first distribution the father bestowed the remaining fowls upon his most beloved brother who was called the *motuha* and who ritually carried the fowls on his shoulders. This brother did not keep the birds, but presented them to his wife who passed them on to her brother. The brother gave them to his wife, and she in turn gave them to her brother and he to his brother-in-law. If brothers were lacking, the fowls were given to a sister or to a cousin, male or female on either the mother's or the father's side. If the wife of the *motuha* had no brother or cousin, she gave the fowls to her father or mother. The fowls were eaten when they had been given away five times. Then everyone wanted to have them and shouted, "ma aku, ma aku!" (for me, for me!). The man who gave a great *koro* was honored with the title of *tangata honui* (great man, generous). My informants and Roussel (190, p. 428) stress the fact that the man honored in a *koro* did not keep the food he received for himself or at least very little of it.

A return gift of fowls was made to the host of the *koro* on a later occasion through the same series of presentation. If the wife of the brother of the wife of the *motuha* received fowls from her son, the man who made the first *koro* would eventually get them. The following definite examples, given to me by informants, illustrate the preceding statements:

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Years ago, the father of Victoria made two *koro*, one in behalf of the father-in-law and the other in behalf of the mother-in-law of his son, Miguel Rapahango. He wanted to make his son "big" (*haka honui taana poki*). The brothers and closest relatives and his other sons and daughters each contributed fowls or some kind of food. All these presents were to be returned some day. The fowls given by the brothers were delivered to the brothers and cousins of Miguel's father-in-law, Emilio Paoa, who received the *koro*. The other fowls were given to Emilio who bestowed them upon his brother (*motuha*).

The feast was celebrated in the house of Victoria's father and there were more than 250 fowls bound to two ropes. In the same place there was a big earth oven or food gift (*umu parehaoga*). The *motuha*, on the same day, made another earth oven in his house and brought the food to the house of Victoria's father. The food gift of the *motuha* was called *umu motuha*. He gave the food to Miguel Rapahango, who presented it to his own father. The food taken out of the earth oven of the *koro* giver was delivered to the father-in-law and to the people who helped.

Victoria remembered quite well that Miguel's wife untied one fowl and gave it to her father, Emilio Paoa, who took the other fowls presented by the brothers and sisters of his son-in-law and distributed them among his relatives of the Paoa family. The other fowls, with the exception of 20, he delivered to his brother. The brother distributed the fowls among his family and friends because he had no wife or other brothers. Emilio Paoa gave some fowls to his *tumu*, who is a neighbor, a man of a tribe living close by.

If the *koro* was celebrated for a mother-in-law, she gave the fowls to her brother, he to his wife, the wife to her brother, and so on. During the feast the people sang this song:

I o te korongo mai nei	Here is the feast sung
I Moana-vera-vera-ra-tahai	In Moana-vera-vera-ra-tahai (name of a place)
Rima turu, turu.	Hands raising, raising.

I asked Tepano to imagine that Beatriz, who was the wife of his son Jorge, made a *koro* for him. Tepano said he would give the fowls to his brother, Pakomio. Pakomio would present them to his wife and she to her brother. A cousin of Pakomio's wife could make a *koro* and the presents would come back in the same way. Sometimes a brother of the father-in-law of the *motuha* might give fowls to his brother, who in turn gave them to his wife; she delivered them to her daughter, the *motuha's* wife. The *motuha*, Tepano's uncle, would give the fowls back to Tepano.

As a rule one never made a *koro* for his brother or his cousins, but if one were an orphan he sometimes celebrated a *koro* for an elder brother. The present made in a *koro* was called *mee ravaa* (?) or *mahia*. A *koro* could be celebrated in honor of a dead father (*koro puoko mata*, feast of the dead skull of the father). The paternal uncle received it for the dead. The son who offered such a *koro* was assisted by his brothers, his cousins, and his friends.

There were no *koro* in winter because the earth ovens of the *koro* are "finished" (*umu koro huri*). The man who presented a *koro* during the month of July made a special earth oven which was called *umu anakena*. In it he cooked some fowls which he gave to the *motuha*. Tepano informed me once that the *motuha* could keep 5 or 10 fowls. They were called *haokuku*. The *motuha* brought to the feast from 20 to 50 fowls which he delivered to his

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574 brother who in his turn gave them to his son. Sometimes they were given to
431 the wife of the man who made the *koro*; she passed them on to her brother or her father.

602 I was told that the son could give 5 or 10 fowls to his father on the
554 occasion of the *umu anakena*. The father distributed them among people who had helped him when he was hungry (in time of famine for instance). This present was called *moa haka kio* (to reward with fowls; literally, "fowls made prisoners").

During the feast of the *koro* the father or the mother praised the generosity of the son:

[539]

E poki	koro	nui	e mooku mo	te matua	e (e nau e)
Son	of feast	great	for me	for the father	(for the mother)

If he had already made a *koro* for one of the parents the formula would be a little different:

[539]

E poki	koro	nui	mo	mana	ko	nua e
Son	of feast	great	for	me	and	for your mother

431 The *koro* is closely related to a custom which is now prevalent in Easter
602 Island and which obliges the men to make presents to the brothers or the cousins of their wives. Generally it is only one brother or one cousin who receives these presents. I was told by all my informants that "the brother-in-law who is chosen is the best-liked one, and sometimes the others become jealous." A husband must also make presents to the sister of his wife. Every one who receives a present must make a return gift on a later occasion, and if he has self respect he will give more than he has received. The *mahia* or present to a brother-in-law or a cousin cannot be something made by one's self; it must be a gift obtained from a parent or a friend. As Tepano told me, "The one who gives you fowls, he only is your brother, only the fowls have value." That is, the symbolism of the gift stresses a close personal relationship between the giver and the cousin chosen as recipient. The *mahia* may also be a circulating present which passes through many hands according to the old *koro* system.

KORO HOUSE

345 In connection with the *koro* is always mentioned a big house, also called *koro*, where young people spent their time playing various games. This house was the material symbol of the generosity of the *koro* giver. Tradition has preserved descriptions of *koro* houses which were several hundred feet long and more than 20 feet high. Materials for the construction of the house were often provided by relatives or friends who aided the giver of the *koro* in his expenditures. Tepano said that *koro* houses were intended for young

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people, both boys and girls, who resided in them for months, generously provided with all sorts of delicacies, but tales seem to indicate that adults also could enjoy the careless life of the *koro* houses. Certain tapus seem to have been enforced on the *koro*, and definite rules were observed in them; no religious ceremonies are mentioned apart from the consecration of the house by an *ariki*.

The host, whose own house was near the *koro*, supervised everything and enjoyed the sight of all the people having a good time. Food was distributed in abundance, and sometimes more than 10 earth ovens were cooking at the same time. The sweet potatoes and chickens which were served during the feast had been accumulated by the owner of the *koro* over a long period of time, and his relatives or friends contributed presents of food, given to him under the condition that some day he would help them on a similar occasion. The last day of the feast was especially gay, and when the rejoicings were over the *koro* house was pulled down with the aid of wooden carved lizards. (See 194, p. 234.) The poles which had been used in the *koro* construction were carefully guarded to be used for the next celebration.

The *koro* houses were supposed to be kept clean. Tradition tells of a *koro* house to which the *ariki* Tuu-ko-ihu was invited and which he left because he saw in it the excrement of a child:

They built a *koro* house in Ahu-a-pepe. They made a very long house. They had yams, sweet potatoes, and chickens. They lit the oven, they threw the food into it and cooked it. They sent a message to Tuu-ko-ihu to call him to this new *koro* where food was ready. A child defecated in the house. The king came and went in and spoke to the owner of the *koro*, "Now take out the food for the king, put in the sugar cane." The head of Oroi was hanging down in the house. Tuu-ko-ihu noticed it and recognized it, "Here is the head of Oroi," he said, "Rest here, your teeth used formerly to eat turtle meat in the foreign country of Marae-renga."

They gathered bananas in the house. Tuu-ko-ihu saw the excrement of the child. He could no longer eat sugar cane, banana, sweet potatoes, chicken, or fish. He got sick because of this excrement. Tuu-ko-ihu took the hanging head and went to his home. The people in the *koro* house said, "The king does not eat the food. Who took the head which was hanging down?" The owner of the *koro* saw the excrement and said, "That's why the king did not eat. Stinking is the excrement of the child." He noticed then that the head was no longer there and that the king had taken it with him.

The owner of the *koro* gathered chickens, fish, tuna fish, and eels, and enlisted the workers to help him to recover the head. They removed the stones, they dug the ground until they reached the house of Tuu-ko-ihu where the head had been buried. They dug everywhere, even under the seat of Tuu-ko-ihu. There they found the head and took it from the king.

The owner was working in a banana plantation. He saw a rat, chased it and digging in the hole of the rat found the skull (again).

Areauti

The *areauti* feast, held in fall and winter, was probably similar to the *koro*. For both feasts a special hut was erected, and both were given at the

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expense of a man wishing to enhance his prestige by a show of lavishness. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, pp. 66-67) describes the *areauti* as follows:

> The *paina* is succeeded by the *areauti*, in which there are no more big races, no complicated evolutions, and no palatable sweet potato banquets. On the grounds of the feast are built big houses, I should say huts higher than the ordinary ones. When the houses are finished, people gather in groups, placing themselves in two lines to sing. And what they sing! I must confess that this poetry is very primitive and not very varied. The event which has most struck the imagination is generally the subject of the chant. If a new disease has been introduced, let us say smallpox, it will be sung at the *areauti*. On the occasion of one of these feasts, they took my sheep and roasted and ate them. The roasted sheep have been sung about for I know not how long. Please do not think that they compose a poem for the occasion. They are well satisfied with repeating, in different tones, the matter itself, sometimes the name which expresses it. This continues from the beginning of the feast to the end.

Puke

This feast has not been recorded previously. According to my informant, it was always celebrated in the month of August (*horaiti*). Five children went to the shore to pick up *tari* (a seaweed). My informant insisted that each child took ten seaweeds, but such precision may be doubted. The children started to run as fast as they could, and adults tried to hit them with the seaweed collected by the children. A child who was hit by the *tari* was supposedly destined for a premature death, those who escaped without having been touched by the seaweed could expect a long life. The *puke* were organized by the entire village and were occasions for feasting.

Kaunga

The *kaunga* was a feast reserved for young people and its chief feature was a dance performed by boys and girls on a narrow place paved with pebbles. Routledge (194, p. 234) claims to have seen four such strips; I saw only one, but Tepano mentioned two, one at Vakahipo and the other at Hangoteo. The young people danced in Indian file, each girl preceded by a boy. The dancers held dancing clubs (*rapa*) in both hands and advanced and retreated gracefully. When a father decided to have a *kaunga* dance performed, all the other families sent their children. The parents sat as mere spectators of the dance.

I never heard, as did Routledge (194, p. 284), that this feast was in honor of a mother. The *kaunga* feast has been frequently confused with the seclusion of young people for the purpose of producing fair complexions before being exhibited at feasts. However, the feast was probably an opportunity for the *neru* or the *huru* girls (those who had been secluded) to display the whiteness of their complexions. Marriages were frequently decided upon at this feast.

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The Feast of the Boat

Near Vaihu there is a mound, called *miro-oone* (the earth-ship). A feast which consisted in imitating the activities, postures, and language of a ship's crew used to be celebrated over it. Some of the natives were the *mataroa* or sailors and others the officers. The last of these shows was given not long ago, for the father of the present catechist, Timoteo Pakarati, is remembered as having played with great success the role of a captain. On this occasion songs were sung, one of which I transcribe below. This song was also considered an improvization to welcome a man by the name of Toorangi of the Eapaea lineage who came from Chile as a sailor.

E Toorangi a Eapaea e,	O Toorangi of Eapaea,
A te kapu mai hiva e,	He that came from abroad,
Ka hakaava ro	They are pushing forward
I te kaukau hakarava	The horizontal poles (the yards),
E Toorangi a Eapaea e.	O Toorangi of Eapaea.
Ka hakatata haro	They make incline
I te kaukau hakarava	The horizontal poles (the yards)
O Toorangi o te miro,	Of Toorangi of his ship,
Kahu aava.	The sail is inflated.

First Tepano assumed that this ship represented the big canoe built by Tuapoi, a legendary character (p. 382); then he said that it was Captain Cook's ship. The feast is no longer performed, but on the first day of the year the natives dress in navy uniforms and perform exercises which imitate the maneuvers of ships' crews.

Routledge understood that these dances commemorated Captain Cook's visits and that Cook and his English sailors were deified by the natives who erected big houses to celebrate his cult (*hare-a-te-atua*). This does not seem likely, for if the natives really had worshipped the Europeans why should they have chosen Cook, who was the third visitor to the island and who stayed on it a shorter time than the Spaniards?

The *hare-a-te-atua* mentioned by Routledge were probably big houses built for the feasts in which ceremonies and dances may have been performed. The feast of the ship, possibly very recent, was associated with ordinary feasts. My native informants stated that the *hare-a-te-atua* generally had nothing to do with the *miro-oone* or earth-ship.

GAMES

Surf-riding

Surf-riding (*ngaru*) is the only ancient Easter Island sport which has survived. As soon as days become warm, children go out to the surf with small planks on which they lie and let themselves be carried to shore by the

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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Sham Battles

The sham battle was one of the favorite entertainments of children. Divided into two sides, they threw at each other spears tipped by pieces of gourd shell in the shape of obsidian points (*taua pahera*). Legend states that children frequently discovered and substituted obsidian points for their harmless spear points (p. 376). Sham battles (*tuna*) in which either adults or children threw stones was another form of training for wars.

At feast gatherings, young men displayed their athletic skill in running, spear throwing, and other feats of dexterity (215, p. 468).

Throwing Game

Knoche (123, p. 202), describes a throwing game which was probably introduced from Tahiti or Mangareva. I never saw the game and the islanders never mentioned it to me.

A small groove 150 mm. long is traced on level ground. Across the groove they put a little stick 50 mm. long. The players have thin sticks 550 mm. long that they introduce under the small one to throw it as far as possible. The winner is the man who throws the piece of wood farthest.

Top Spinning

Spinning tops (*makoi*) were popular toys. They varied in type according to materials used. The most common top was a capsule of the *makoi* (probably *Thespesia populnea*), pierced through the middle by a round pin with two sharp, fire-hardened points. *Makoi-oone* were made of a clay found in craters. Children mixed it with water and sugar cane juice and left it to bake in the sun. A clay top is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22838). It is a hard, red clay ball, 28 mm. in diameter with a wooden handle 135 mm. long inserted through it. This object is listed in the catalog as a tattooing hammer, but its form makes such a use very unlikely.

Stone tops are said to have been large and were thrown without the use of a string into a stone basin, where they kept spinning for a long time. While the tops were spinning, children used to sing the following song:

Kanini te makoi nau opata.	Spin the top [made of *makoi* capsules] from the cliff.
Ka tuu te makoi miro rakerake;	The wooden top does not stand up well;
Kanini koe te makoi oone o te Rano-kao.	Spin the top made of the clay of the Rano-kao.

Kite Flying

Kites, called *manu hakarere* (flying birds), were made of tapa cloth and the head of a bird was painted on each of them. They were flown by children.

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Tepano demonstrated how the men danced at a feast. Holding a dance paddle in his hands, and with bent knees, he turned and waved the paddle with extraordinary dexterity and swiftness. Unfortunately he did not know details. However, he described the attitudes of the dancers of old. They held a dance paddle (*rapa*) in each hand and advanced, jumping from one foot to the other. Other dancers held larger dancing paddles (*ao*), and swung vigorously with the entire body. Some men carried a wooden image in each hand which they juggled as they sang and marched toward the ahu. They wore wooden pendants and images and carried other accessories such as dance paddles and figures of lizards or of men which they brandished, waved, and handled in various ways. Sometimes they were extended with a sudden movement; at other times they were held near the mouth, passed between the legs, and so forth. Sometimes the dancers made as if to spit on them. 535

The most significant feature of the *kaunga* feast was a dance performed by men and women who Indian-filed along a paved alley. Tepano asserted that the dancers bowed their bodies forward with flexed knees, hopping forward each time they resumed a straight position. They moved the fingers rapidly and uninterruptedly. This description, also given to Brown (27, p. 201), was applied by Tepano to all the festive dances that he tried to explain. It might well be the dominant feature of a special dance performed upon any occasion.

Modern Dances

The *hupa-hupa* danced nowadays, especially at the request of passing visitors, is a survival of an old hopping dance. On New Year's afternoon I attended the great pageant organized each new year by the natives in honor of the English manager of the Williamson-Balfour Company. This feast is prepared long in advance, and every detail is carefully studied. A month before the feast, regular dance lessons are given in the huts of native instructors. The pageant itself is distinctly modernized. The feast is at the same time a carnival, a pageant, a dance, and a banquet. The most spectacular feature of the feast is the performance of a dance in front of the English Residence. 535 574

The dancers, men and women, arrived in two groups. Among them were several women dressed in uniforms of officers of the Chilean navy. They stood in one line, each with her hands on her hips, and swayed their bodies to-and-fro. The dance itself was extremely simple, consisting of a few steps forward followed by one or two steps backward. The first row of dancers was led by two girls in brilliant uniforms, one of the girls brandishing a sword and the other the scabbard of the same weapon. Sometimes they turned toward their troupe, uttering commands in the various languages of all the warships which had visited the island. At a given signal, all the dancers moved their arms in a gymnastic motion inspired probably by the exercise or signaling methods observed on board some training ship. If these simple movements were a survival from ancient dances they had taken on a distinctly military aspect and a simplicity to conform with the uniforms and the commands. In unison the dancers lifted and lowered their 535

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not as complete as they might be, and may tend to be weighted in that all four men were related in one way or another. However this paper, and one on trading techniques which I hope to publish at a future date, show quite clearly that advanced acculturation on the island is, for the most part, only material culture deep and has as yet penetrated only sporadically into the social organization of the people.

BIRTH

Except for a ceremony at the birth of a first child, there appears to be no regularized ritual for births as such. At the present moment an expectant mother either goes to the Naval-run hospital for delivery, or stays at home where her child is delivered with the aid of a midwife. I could learn of no pre-natal or post-parture taboos enforced on either the parents or the child. The rubbing of a fine red iron oxide powder into the baby's navel may have once had ceremonial significance but is now explained as merely an aid in the drying up of the umbilical cord.

It is apparently only the first child, especially a boy child, whose birth is fraught with a danger that must be assuaged by ceremony. Once the ceremony has been completed, however, a time for general celebration and feasting is immediately at hand.

Upon the occasion of the first birth to a married couple the father-in-law of the child's mother immediately prepares a small *umu*, i.e., a meal prepared in a pit oven, which is allowed to cook through the night. At the break of dawn on the following day the immediate families of both the child's parents open the *umu* but do not touch the inclosed food until the new mother has first partaken of it to "bring luck to her baby." After she has eaten this token meal, these relatives finish this initial *umu* and immediately begin preparations for a large *umu* feast for their friends and relatives in celebration of the birth. As with the inter-familial exchange of gifts at the time of a wedding, the respective families of the new parents each prepare their own *umu* and, upon its completion, present it to the opposite family, after which both meals are pooled for the general feasting of friends and relatives. Since such a feast may have to provide for a large portion of the population, each member of the extended family may be called upon to furnish a quantity of food in the form of chickens, eggs, *camotes* or sweet potatoes, etc. Even friends may be called upon and "if they have food beyond their needs they will give to the *umu*." Each friend or relative coming to the feast brings with him, or her, a small *umu* gift for the new mother. This usually consists of a small, wrapped bundle containing chicken or, perhaps, *camote*. It was never made

2:Fordon A-5 (1956) 1957
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completely clear to me if these small gifts had to be cooked in a pit oven, or *umu*, or whether they were simply cooked food brought to this celebration, though I am inclined to feel that, considering the first ceremonial *umu*, they were probably especially prepared in a pit oven.

According to Jorge and Roberto, this ceremony is occasionally still performed as above but is gradually being supplanted by a modified version. This new pattern is best described by Jorge's plans for the celebration of a forthcoming first birth in the family of one of his recently married sons. Jorge explained that, upon the birth of the child, he would make a "table" of gifts for his son's father-in-law, and the father-in-law, in turn, would make a gift table for Jorge. These they would exchange at a party, and the exchanged gifts would then be distributed among the relatives of each father-in-law. The party, rather than being the traditional *umu*, would be a time when a little wine or liquor was served to the guests, and all would sing and dance during the evening. Whether or not Jorge would prepare the small *umu* for the first eating by the new mother could not be learned. Considering, however, that the Easter Islanders would feel that Chileans, and therefore all foreigners, would ridicule such a rite as superstitious, it is possible that Jorge's diffidence on the matter actually reflected a plan to carry out such a ritual, the fear of overt or covert ridicule on my part, however, forbidding his admitting it.

Although the sex of the first born does not appear to change the initial *umu* ceremony, there is ample evidence that the first born boy, whether or not he is the first child, not only stands in a special relationship to his father but to the powers of the supernatural world as well. From the day of his birth he is seen as being in a "very delicate" situation, to the extent that he is more easily subject to death than are his sisters and later born brothers. Owing to this situation he is treated in a special manner, is continually watched over, and is never allowed to go near such dangerous places as a rough beach or a high cliff. This delicate situation may continue for many years and can only be dissipated, and then completely, upon the death of one of his brothers. Thus, the death of any one of the brothers (of a first born son) liberates the earliest born forever from his close companionship with death, and he is henceforth allowed to travel at will and carries no restrictions, except where his father is concerned.

Throughout life the first born son and his father must carefully observe certain taboos in relation to one another. Neither, for example, may cut the other's hair, for to do so would bring bad luck to the one whose hair was cut. Should the father get sick, the son must not approach him, since to do this would cause the father's death. The reverse is true in the event of illness befalling the first born son. No such taboos appear to hold for the parent-sib relationship of the other children of the family. This special relationship of the father and his first born son was de-

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marriage. For example, in discussing what would happen if a husband committed adultery, Jorge explained that if the wife found out, or the husband was "too open" about his affair, not only would the wife become very angry but his father-in-law would come to the house and have a severe talk with him. Again, when Martin Rapu was given an opportunity by the Chilean government to go to the continent it was necessary for him to obtain permission to make the trip from Jorge Tepano, his father-in-law. Jorge refused to consent on the basis that, not only was Martin's house incomplete,[5] but he still owed Jorge several sheets of corrugated iron roofing. Should Martin leave the island he would be unable to return the items, for he would not be included in the following year's ration list. When Martin's father interceded in his son's behalf, Jorge questioned the father by saying, "Why do you want your son to go, for if he goes it is you that must take care of my daughter and that will cost you money."

In this statement we see at least one of the roles of the wife's father-in-law, i.e., as the protector of his son's wife. This role of protector is still very common, if not universal, on the island but, as far as I can gather, comes into play only when the husband is actually leaving the island for any extended time. The responsibilities of this position are fully understood and respected by the wife to the extent that, in one instance, the governor of the island, Commander Curti, was forced to go to a woman's father-in-law to obtain permission for the woman to work for Mrs Curti in the governor's mansion. In this instance the woman was fully mature, being well along in her forties, but her husband had gone to Chile to work and therefore the decision had to be made by her father-in-law.

Further evidence of the important position held by the girl's father in a marriage is seen in the *koro* ceremony which is given by a young husband for his father-in-law to show him what a good son-in-law he has. This is a post-marriage rite which may be given up to a year or two after the couple has married. During the intervening period the husband's extended family helps him collect as many roosters as possible. When a sufficient number have been accumulated, the husband invites his wife's immediate relatives and her extended family to a feast. When the feasting has been completed, the collected roosters appear, each rooster individually tied to a single long rope stretched out upon the ground. There may be from one hundred to one hundred and fifty birds tied to such a rope. With the termination of the feasting the husband presents the string of roosters to his father-

5 I came across several cases on the island where the lack of a house, or the incompleteness of a house, was given as the reason for a man's not taking a trip away from the island. The need to properly house one's family before setting off on a long trip appears paramount in the eyes of the Rapa-nui.

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584 in-law as a gift. The father-in-law accepts the gift and immediately gives a rooster
574 to each of his brothers and sisters. If one of his brothers has given a feast in his
431 honor,[6] he will then take the remainder of the string of birds and drape it over
[606 the neck of this particular brother. In doing this he gives the brother the honor of starting the apportioning of the roosters among the members of the extended family. The brother so honored takes the roosters and gives them to his wife who, after taking one herself, passes the string down through the relatives until each has one of the birds. In this act the brother has, in effect, been given the same honor as that of the "secretary," or *motuha*, who distributes the gifts at the time of a wedding.

174 The strong position of a wife's father may hark back to an earlier custom
584 whereby a mother or father, noting a hard-working bachelor with a good planta-
606 tion of yams, *camote*, sugar cane, etc., presented their daughter to the man for
581 his acceptance or rejection. Neither the desires of the daughter nor the age of the bachelor in relation to the girl's was considered.

584 The operation of such a marriage was described as follows. Noting a hard-working bachelor and seeing in him an opportunity for a "wealthy" marriage for their daughter, the father of the girl would either send his daughter to the man, or more commonly, take her to the bachelor's home. Upon entering the house, the father would ask, "Where are you?" and the bachelor would answer, "Here I am," whereupon the father would leave the girl in the house and say, "Here." If the bachelor accepted the girl he immediately went outside and gathered together chickens, yams, *camotes*, and other foods to make a big *umu* feast for the
[586] girl's father. However, if at some future date the girl's father felt that his daughter's husband was no longer working hard in his fields or at fishing, he had the right to come and take her away and give her to some other man. In extreme cases a girl was allowed to leave her husband and return home.

177 Today such forced marriages no longer exist, but a father may counsel his
584 daughter to marry some hard-working bachelor of his choice. If she refuses he will wait awhile and again counsel her, repeating this advice until she marries the man. As one of my informants put it, "He will keep counseling her until the idea
[581] and the advantages of such a marriage are well in her head." In such marriages one interesting change has been made. No daughter is "counseled" into a marriage with a man too much older than she, for, "See how much older brothers fight with their too young sisters — it is the same with such a marriage."

6 Presumably this refers to a *horo*, although according to Métraux such feasts honoring a brother were not common.

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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passed over the area on which the single pillar before-mentioned was placed. A few natives who still accompanied us, made signs that we should descend, and walk in the grass at the foot of the pedestal; but seeing that we did not care to understand their gestures, they made no other attempt to oppose our progress. We put some questions to the most intelligent persons among them, concerning the nature of these stones, and from what we could understand, we concluded that they were monuments erected to the memory of some of their areekees, or kings. This led us to believe that the pedestal was perhaps to be considered as a burying-place, and on looking carefully round it, we found a number of human bones, which confirmed our conjecture. The length of these bones was exactly such as might be expected in persons of a middle stature, and a thigh-bone which we measured, exactly corresponded with that of a person about five feet nine inches high. To the westward of the cove, there was a range of three pillars, standing on a very large elevated area or pedestal. This range the natives distinguished by the name of *banga-roa*, and the single pillar they called *oheena*. About ten or twelve people were seated at a little distance from the last, round a small fire, over which they had roasted a few potatoes. These served for their supper, and they offered us some of them as we passed by. We were much surprised with this instance of hospitality in so poor a country, especially when we

1774. MARCH.

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1774. MARCH. we compared it to the cuſtoms of civilized nations, who have almoſt entirely laid aſide all tender feelings for the wants of their fellow-creatures. At the ſame time we were very glad to be convinced, that the conjectures of the Dutch concerning the fires which they ſaw on this iſland, were ill-founded, as we did not ſee the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, that they were lighted for religious purpoſes. We now embarked with a ſmall quantity of potatoes, and with about ſix or ſeven common plants which we had gathered, and returned on board. Thoſe only who were ill of the ſcurvy, reaped ſome benefit from their viſit to the ſhore. I who went out in the morning with my legs exceſſively ſwelled, and ſo tender that I could hardly ſtand upon them, returned on board much better; the ſwelling was ſomething reduced, and my pains at leaſt were gone. I could not attribute this ſudden change to any thing elſe, than the exerciſe I had taken on ſhore, and perhaps to thoſe ſalutary antiſcorbutic effluvia of the land, which it is ſaid, are alone ſufficient to recover thoſe, who have contracted the ſcurvy on a long cruize at ſea.

Tueſday 15. Early the next morning, captain Cook appointed a party of marines and ſailors, under the command of lieutenants Pickerſgill and Edgecumbe, to reconnoitre the interior parts of the country, in order to be convinced if poſſible, whether any other part was better cultivated, or more cloſely inhabited than that which we had hitherto ſeen. Mr. Wales, Mr.